1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

612 793 powers would in the long run conquer, and his disobedient kinsmen, fearing this curse, would come to him repentently, putting ashes on their heads. In political matters he has no authority, as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. He has, therefore, no say in such matters as the apportionment of taxes, handing over of criminals, cleaning of roads, etc. The civil chief[1] might, however, ask his advice, or in courtesy report to him the steps he had taken. If the kindred [596] consists of more than one extended family,[2] each extended family has also its head, to whom all the members of the family look for guidance. In addition to the social and political headships, there are (always in different branches of the kindred) various [624] other hereditary headships. Thus one branch may have charge of the *obwai* cult, another of the control of rains, another of leechcraft, another of hunting operations and the preparation of arrow poisons, another of the young men, sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on. The Katab is a great believer in the specialization of social functions. It is to be noted that a kindred may include among [591] its residential members married sisters and their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group.

621 *The Village-Area.*—The kindreds are fairly well localized in village-areas, but any village-area may include members belonging to some other kindred than the principal kindred of the village. The following example will illustrate the composition of a typical Katab village.

621 162 The village (Kibori, Aswen sub-clan), containing 191 persons, was found to consist of 27 compounds or an average of 7 persons per compound. Twenty of the 27 households belonged to the Aswen sub-clan, 4 belonged to a neighbouring clan, and 3 belonged to a neighbouring tribe. There were 37 married men and 56 married women, or the high proportion of 1·6 wives to each husband. The reason for this was that the villagers, being

[1] The existing institution of civil chiefs is probably an innovation due to the dominating influence established by the Kauru dynasty over the Katab tribe.
[2] It is difficult to draw a hard and fast distinction between the terms "kindred" and "extended family" as used in this chapter. The term "kindred" designates the group intermediate (where there is an intermediate group) between the extended family and the sub-clan.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Dararo, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswoi*, "father of the cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[112] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baiduang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

Traditions

According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[113] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

Baiduang: men of Duang (*a stream*): It appears that the six constituent major lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[112] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[113] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.